There are few graduates or undergraduates of

American colleges who are not familiar with

## Prof. Fisher's History of the Nations.

the "Outlines of Universal History," a work of considerable size, compiled by Dr. Gronge PARK FIRMER, professor in Yale University. The author has now published a smaller book, designed for the use of pupils in classical schools and high schools, which is better adapted to its purpose than are most of its English and Amerisan companions. It is instructively illustrated with portraits, copies of works of art, and pictures of localities, and it is supplemented with trustworthy historical maps and with genealogical tables of the more important dynasties in ancient, medizval, and modern times. For the threefold division of the history a good deal may be said, although it differs from that generally made. Thus the author makes ancient history end not in A. D. 676, which is, in truth, a point purely artificial, but in A. D. 375, on the ground that at that time began the eruption from the North of the unconquered Teutonic tribes, and with it the eaking up of the widespread Roman state. We do not object to the principle adopted, but, if it were to be strictly applied, ancient history should end in A. D. 250, when the Gotha inraded the empire. But for the fact that a series of vigorous emperors arose to repel them, and that the whole administrative structure of the empire was presently transformed by Diosletian, the eruptions of the Northern peoples would have been successful in the third censury, and the estensible maintenance of Roman rule in the West would not have been prolonged for about two centuries. Medieval history is made by Prof. Fisher to end in 1453 with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, but this seems to us a somewhat fanciful point of division. The capture of Constantinople was not a momentous political event, for it had been long foreseen, and the Greek emperors had ceased for many years to retain more than an inconsiderable territory in the neighborhood of that capital. The downfall of the Eastern Rome was scarcely needed to convince observers that the Ottoman Turks had become a source of formidable danger to Christian Eyope. We prefer the date more commende shosen, that, namely, of 1492, wh of France roughly with the transferessive power, bent from a defensive "taly, and with the accession upon service of Tudor in England, and which apon savouse of Tunor in Linguist of Granada, the last stronghold of Moslem power in Spain, and, above all, with the discovery of a new world by Columbus. A feature by which the book before us is happily distinguished from many of its rivals is its truly ecumenical charactor. It is really a history of the world, giving due attention to the history of China, Japan, and India, as well as to that of Mesopotamia and the Nile Valley. It is true that Chaldea and Egypt stand in the relation of progenitors to Europea civilization, and that China, Japan, and India do not. But the latest drift of research and speculation seems to indicate that China, Japan. and India, like Egypt itself, drew the germs of their civilization from the valley of the Euphrates. Until very lately this deduction was chiefly based on astronomical associations. But it is confirmed by the outcome of recent excavations, which seem to require us to push back the existence of a well-defined civilization in Babylonia by some 5,000 years beyond the sarliest date formerly accepted.

To compress a history of the world from the beginning of discoverable data in a duodecimo volume of less than six hundred pages is of course, a task impossible to discharge to the satisfaction of every one. Incomparably greater must needs be the number of the facts omitted than that of those inserted. Yet every reader tolerably well informed is sure to imagine that he has detected many grievous errors of omission. It is scarcely possible, moreover, to avoid some positive mistakes in a book which comprises many scores, and perhaps hundreds of thousands, of statements of facts. Some such mistakes we have observed, although they are admirably few compared with the opportunities for them. If we here advert to them, it is because Prof. Fisher's book seems certain to run through numerous editions. Here and there, too, we may touch upon omissions, but only when we feel certain that the author will concur with us in thinking that the infrequent gaps

noted should be filled up at some future date. On page 410, the author, outlining the reign of James I. of England, says: "Lord Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, was tried and convicted for receiving presents intended to influence his decisions as a Judge." The person referred to by Prof. Fisher never was described in his lifetime and cannot now be described as "Lord" Bacon. He was known successively as Master Prancis Bacon, Sir Francis Bacon, Baron of ulam and Viscount St. Albans. After his elevation to the peerage, and since that period, he could properly be referred to as Lord Verniam or Lord St. Albans, but never as "Lord Bacon." We might as well speak of Lord Bethel, meaning Lord Westbury, or Lord Disraell, meaning Lord Beacons-field. The error is a common one, but it should not be committed by Prof. Fisher, who is thoroughly conversant with English his tory and with English legal and social usages. On page 422, in a paragraph on the European literature of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century, the names of Ben Jonson. Mariows, Beaumont, and Fletcher are not mentioned; neither is the name of Montaigne nor that of Pascal. Cervantes is mentioned, but neither Lope de Vega nor Calderon. On pages Swinburne, and William Morris. 460-63, which treat of European literature during the latter half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, Diderot is not named, nor any of the Encyclopædists; neither is Congreve nor any of the contemporary English dramatists. Newton is referred to, but not Boyle, and, strange as it may seem, Dr. Johnson is entirely overlooked. On page 449 we read: "The settlement of New Jersey was first made by members of the Society of Friends or Quakers sent over by William Penn." The first settlement within the present State of New Jersey was made in 1617 by the Dutch at Bergen, opposite New York city. Subsequently Cornelius May, who discovered the Delaware in 1623, built a fort on its banks opposite Philadelphia. When Charles II. wrested from the Dutch their North American possessions, he granted them to his brother, the Duke of York, who, in turn, granted what is now New Jersey in 1664 to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The first Governor was Philip Carteret, a brother of Sir George, who with a number of "adventurers" in 1665 and established himself at Elizabethtown. Here the first General Assembly met

On page 457 Prof. Fisher notes the fact that in September, 1777, the Americans under Washington were defeated by Howe at Brandywine, but no reference is made to the subsequent battle at Germantown, On page 458 we observe two errors which un-doubtedly will be corrected in a later edition. "In the next year (1781), Gen. Nathaniel Greene conducted military operations in Georgia and the Carolinas with much skill, and sucseeded in pressing the army of Lord Cornwallis into the peninsula formed by the York and James Rivers in Virginia. Thither the French fleet sailed under Count Rochambeau." It was not treene that pushed Cornwallis into the Yorktown peninsula, which was to prove fatal to him, for Greene was hundred of miles away; Cornwallis was pushed thither by the American forces operating in Virginia. The French fleet, which cooperated with the French and Ameriean land forces at Yorktown, was under the command of Count de Grasse, not of Rochambean, who commanded the French army, and moved it by land from Newport to Virginia. On page 459 we read of the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, that " Hamilton of New York and Madison of Virginia were leading members." If by leading is meant influential, this cannot be said

three years later. On a re-grant of the province

made by the Duke of York subsequently to the

reconquest by the Dutch and the reversion to

England, what was long known as East Jersey

was assigned to Carteret, and West Jersey to

Berkeley. The latter sold his share of the prov-

vince to a firm of Quakers, who, in 1675, estab-

lished their first settlement at Salem, and an-

other shortly afterward at Burlington.

of Hamilton, who spent but little time in the convention, and whose influence was exerted in behalf of the Constitution after it was framed, and not before. The leading members were Madison, the author of the so-called Virginia plan; Patterson, who presented the so-called New Jersey plan; and Oliver Ellsworth, who had, probably, more than any other man to do with the adoption of the compromise between those two projects. On page 473 we meet with the assertion that "in 1783 William Pitt, the younger, was made Prime Minister when he was only 25 years old." He was even younger. He was appointed First Lord of the Treasury in December, 1783, and he did not be-come twenty-five until May 28, 1784. On page 486 Prof. Fisher says that on Dec. 2, 1805, Napoleon "utterly defeated the Russian army under Alexander I. at Austerlitz." It was the combined armies of Russia and Austria that were

then and there defeated by Napoleon. On page 523 we read: "The peace of Prague was actuded between Prussia and Austria Aug. 23, 1806. Venice, at the request of Prussia, was ceded to Italy." Venetia was ceded by Austria. not to Italy, but to Napoleon III., who transferred it to the Italian monarchy. On page 524 the author speaks of Marshal Bazaine being prevented from joining "the main French army under Marshal MacMahon," On the next page we read that Ba-zaine surrendered Metz "with the main French army." The latter statement is, of course, correct. The number of troops surrendered by Bazaine at Metz was about double that of the troops surrendered at Sedan. On the page last named some misconception of the facts may be conveyed by the paragraph relating to the Constitution of the present German emr. Prof. Fisher writes: "To the imperial Gr., and ment, with the Federal Council, to the itted the to the Emperor as executive were corresident of Mairs of common interest. Th Chancellor; the Council was the impero that office Bismarck was appointed Parliament was The Diet or imparage." By Diet the chosen by generaleans the Reichstag, which, author evidently the lower house or however the German Parliament. The Bundeskth or Federal Council is the upper house and it corresponds very closely to the old Diet of the Confederation. It is not true that the imperial Chancellor is, ex-officio, President of the Federal Council; he appears in that body as one of the delegates from Prussia. On page 533 occurs this statement: "The Falk laws proposed by the Prussian Minister of Worship (Falk) and other similar measures were resisted by the Centre or clerical party to the imperial Diet." The reader would certainly infer that the famous Falk laws, most of which have been abrogated, were originally passed in the German imperial Parliament. This is not the case. They were passed by the Prussian Parliament, which is, of course, a very different thing. On page 532 we find the only reference to the great colonial acquisitions made by France under the Third Republic. "She enlarged her power in Africa, and has thus given great offence to Italy and the Turkish Sultau. France also put forth efforts to gain control over Tonquin, the most populous province of the kingdom of Anam and the adjacent terri-tory in China." One would scarcely deduce from these two sentences that France has obtained not only possession of Tonquin, but also a protectorate over the whole Anamite empire, to which she has lately added a large slice of Siam. Of her conquest of Madagascar there is no mention, nor is anything said about the partition of Africa among the great powers. On page 537 Tel el Kebir is spelled Scielkebir. On page 542 we are told that the Gladstone Cabinet retired in 1885, and then, that "a Gladetone Cabinet again came into power in 1896." No one would guess from these statements that an intervening Gladstone Ministry had acceded to office about the beginning of 1886, and that, having failed to pass the first Rome Rule bill in June of the same year, it was defeated in the ensuing general election. On page 543 we en-

counter the statement that "until 1832 Presidential candidates were nominated by Congressional caucuses." Andrew Jackson was nomi nated in 1824 by a convention, and by a like instrumentality in 1828. In 1832 there was scarcely any opposition to him in the Democratic party, but Martin Van Buren was nominated for Vice-President by a national convention. On the same page, we read that "James Monroe (1817-1825) received the votes of all the States but three." For his second term, Monroe received the vote of every Presidential elector except one, and he would have got that but for the dissenting elector's opinion that no other American deserved an honor which had been accorded to George Washington. On page 559, the reference to the war between Chili on the one hand and Bolivia and Peru on the other might give rise to a misunderstanding: "In a war with Bolivia and Peru respecting a province between Chili and and took possession of the whole province with its deposits of nitrate and guano." It was the Bolivian province that lay between Chili and Peru which was the pretext of the war, but the Chilians eventually acquired not only that province but also the adjoining Peruvian province, Tarapaca, with its nitrate and guano deposits, together with the provisional possession of the districts of Tacna and Arica, which they have not yet relinquished. In the chapter, finally, which treats of the literature of the nineteenth century, we miss the names of Heine, of Lamartine, and Alfred de Musset, of Flaubert, Dumas the younger, and Zola, of Bulwer, George Meredith, Howells, and Henry James, Jr., of Matthew Arnold, Froude,

We should not have been at the nains to noint out these oversights had they not been, as we have said, singularly few compared with the enormous multitude of accurate statements of

## Herbert Spencer's Final Book,

The last addition which Mr. HERBERT SPEN-CER will over make to the science of sociology, the book which completes his "Synthetic Philosophy," so far as this will ever be comthe Principles of Sociology (Appletons). Of the three divisions contained in this volume, two dealing respectively with Ecclesiastical Institutions and Professional Institutions, have already appeared in print, the first as a separate book and the second in the shape of review articles; the third, which treats of Industrial Institutions and casts the horoscope of the future, is new. In a preface that, on looking back over the six and thirty prised by its completion. In 1860 his small rewriting and publishing books which did not from a chronic disorder caused by overtax of brain in 1855, which wholly disabled him for limited his cerebral work to three hours a day and usually to less. How instance his comprehensive project must have seemed to onlookers may be judged from fact that before the first chapter of the the miseries resulting from inferiority as the first volume was finished one of his nervous breakdowns obliged him to desist. If ever a word of triumph be pardonable, Mr. Herbert age of benefit; since, acting separately, the su-Spencer may be pardoned for reminding us that imprudent courses do not always fail, that sometimes a forlorn hope is justified by the event. Although, along with other deterrents, many relapses, now lasting for weeks, now for months, and once for years, often made him despair of reaching the end, yet, at length, the end is reached. The "Synthetic Philosophy" is practically finished. It is with a touch of unintended pathos that the builder of this monumental work acknowledges that "in earlier days some exultation would have resulted; but, as age creeps on, feelings weaken, and now my chief pleasure is in my emancipation, Still, there is satisfaction in the consciousness that losses, discouragements and shattered health have not prevented me from fulfilling the pur-

pose of my life."

which, as we have said, industrial institutions are discussed, comprises twenty-four chapters and covers some three hundred pages. here confine ourselves to what the greatest living English philosopher has to say concerning socialism and the politico-economical structure of the near future, to which all the prevailing tendencies in the more enlightened nations distinctly point. We may say, in a word, that, while socialism receives unqualified condemnation at the hands of Mr. Herbert Spencer, his observation has convinced him that we are irresistibly drifting toward it.

Mr. Spencer begins his examination of socialiem by pointing out that some Socialists are aware that their ideal modes of associated living are akin to modes which have prevailed widely during early stages of civilization, and prevail still among many of the uncivilized, as well as among some of the civilized who have lagged behind. In the trirteenth chapter of lagged behind. In the tilrteenth chapter of the third division of the volume, a chapter on "Communal Regulation" examples are given of communism as practiced by tribes of red men, by various Hindus, and by some unprogressive Siavonic peoples: Eastern Europe. Further Instances, draw: from some of the abortions of North America, and from the Croagines of North America, and from the Croagines of North America, are set forth to the tian house communities, are set forth in the twenty-secon chapter, which deals specifically with socie am. These data being once exhibited, Mr opencer submits that when, with the ed, Mr Speccer auditan house communities, fact at these Croating of comparative peace up or modern conditions of comparative peace up or modern conditions of comparative peace up or modern conditions of comparative peace of the comparative peace up the comparativ the fact that they were formed during times of chronic war, and remained coherent during such times; when we add that such communi-ties are still coherent among the Montenegrius, rhose active militancy continues; when we add further, that maintenance of this combined living by American Indians has similarly gone along with perpetual inter-tribal conflicts; we must needs recognize that, in these small social unions, as in the larger social unions including them, the subordination of the individual to the group is great in proportion as the antagonism other groups is great. Be it in the family, the cluster of relatives, the clan or the nation. the need for joint action against alien families, claps, or nations necessitates the merging of dividual life in group life. Hence the Socialist theory and practice are normal in the milt tant type of society, and cease to be normal as fast as the society becomes predominantly in-Mr. Spencer is keenly alive to the fascination

which socialistic ideas have for many persons belonging to a society of an intensely industrial type. He recoginzes that a state of universal brotherhood is so tempting a conception, and the existing state of competitive strife is so full of miseries, that endeavors to escape from the last and enter into the first are quite natural, indeed inevitable. Prompted by consciousness of the grevious inequality of conditions in the world around them, those who suffer and those rho sympathize with them seek to found what they think an conitable social system. In the own, the sight of a rich manufacturer who ignores the hands working in his mill, does not excite in them friendly feelings; and in the country a ploughman looking over the hedge, as a titled lady drives by, may not unnaturally be angered by the thought of his own hard work and poor fare in contrast with the easy lives and luxuries of those who own the fields he tilis. After contemplating the useless being, who now lounges in clubrooms and now rambles through game preserves, the weary artisan may well curse the state of things in which pleasure varies inversely as desert, and may well be vehement in his demands for another form of society. How numerous have been the efforts to set up such a form, and how numerous the failures, Mr. Spencer deems it needless to show, but he gives one of the most recent examples, that of the South Australian village settlements. These were established by the colonial Government, and started with Governnent funds. A commission of inquiry lately travelled through them, and parts of the evience collected are quoted in this volume The testimony proves the prevalence of dissension, violence, idleness, and rebellion, coupled with admissions on the part of nearly all that their beliefs in the goodness of a communistic system had been disfailure, like innumerable similar failures elsewhere, will be ascribed by Socialists to mismanagement. Had this or that not been done, it will be said, everything would have gone well. That human beings, as now constituted, cannot work together efficiently admitted by Socialists; or, if by some admitted, they hold that the mischiefs arising from defective natures may be prevented by a sufficiently powerful authority; that is, if, for these separate groups, one great organization centrally controlled is substituted. It is assumed that such an organization, maintained by force, would be beneficial, not for a time only, but permanently. That fundamental errors are inrolved in this belief Mr. Spencer undertakes to demonstrate in the most striking section of the

The author first proceeds to prove that the octrine of the socialists is biologically fatal. In an earlier division of the "Principles of Sociology," a division which dealt with Domestic Institutions," the general law of species-life was pointed out and emphasized; the law that during immature life benefit received must be great in proportion as worth is small, while during mature life benefit and worth must vary together. "Clearly, with a society as with a species, survival depends on conformity to both of these antagonistic principies. Import into the family the law of the society and let children from infancy upward have life-sustaining supplies proportioned to their life-sustaining labors, and the society disappears forthwith by the death of all its young. Import into the society the law of the family, and let the life-sustaining supplies be great in proportion as the life-sustaining labors are small, and the society decays from increase of pleted, is now before us in the third volume of its least worthy members and decrease of its most worthy members." Now, more or less fully, the doctrine of collectivists, socialists, and communists ignores this distinction between the ethics of family life and the ethics of life outside the family. Entirely under some forms, and in chief measure under others, it proposes to extend the regime of the family to the whole community. This is the conception formulated in the maxim " From each accordof characteristic brevity, for, amid all ing to his capacity, to each according his voluminous writings, the author has sel- to his needs." The socialist does not ask what dom spoken of himself, Mr. Spencer tells us must happen if, generation after generation, the material well being of the inferior is raised years which have passed since the "Synthetic at the cost of lowering that of the superior, Philosophy" was begun, he is surprised at his | Even when it is pointed out that, if the superior, audacity in undertaking it, and still more sur- | persistently burdened by the inferior, are hindered in rearing their own better offspring in sources had been nearly all frittered away in | order that the offspring of the inferior may be as efficiently cared for, a gradual deterioration repay their expenses; and he was suffering of the race must follow, the hope of curing present evils so fills the socialist's consciousness that it cannot take in the thought of the still eighteen months and has, from that time to thir, greater future evil his proposed system would

II.

produce. To charity, when wisely administered, under the regime of individualism, Mr. Spencer concedes a beneficent rôle. Such mitigation of spontaneous sympathies of individuals for one another prompt will bring, he thinks, an averperior will not so far tax their own resources in taking care of their fellows as to hinder themselves from giving their own offspring better rearing than is given to the offspring of the inferior. But people who, in their corporate capacity, abolish the natural relation between merits and benefits, will presently be abolished themselves. Either they will have to go through the miseries of a slow decay, consequent on the increase of those unfit for the business of life, or they will be overrun by some alien people who have not pursued the feelish policy of fostering the worst at the expense of the best.

III.

It is not only, however, because it is biologically fatal that the doctrine of the socialists is condemned by Mr. Herbert Speacer. He con-

an impossible mental structure. A community which fulfils the socialist ideal must be composed of men having sympathies so strong that those who, by their greater powers, achieve greater benefits, willingly surrender the excess to others. The principle they must gladly carry out is that the labor they expend shall not bring to them Its full return; but that from its return shall be habitually taken such part as may make the condition of those who have not worked so efficiently equal to their own dition. To have superior abilities shall not be of any advantage in so far as material results are concerned, but shall be a disadvantage in so far that it involves extra efforts and waste body or brain witnest profit. The intensity of fellow feeling is to be such as to cause lifelong self-sacrifies,

Such, under a socialist régime, being the

requisite character of the individual, consid-

ered as benefactor, Mr. Spencer turns round to

ask what is to be his character considered as beneficiary. Of course, and minor individual

differences, the general moral nature must be

regarded as the same in all. We may not sup-

pose that, along with smaller intellectual and physical powers, there ordinarily goes emotion al degradation. We must suppose that the less able, like the more able, are extremely sympathetic. What, then, is the mental attitude of the less able when perpetually receiving doles from the more able? We are obliged to assume such feeling in each and every member of the community as would prompt him to constant unpaid efforts on behalf of his fellows, and yet such lack of this feeling as would constantly let his fellows rob themselves for his benefit. The character of all is to be at once so noble that it causes continuous sacrifice of self to others, and yet so ignoble that it continuously lets others sacrifice to self. These traits are contradictory. The implied mental constitution is an impossible one. Still more manifest does its impossibility become when a further factor in the problem is considered, to wit, love of offspring. Within the family, parental affection joins sympathy in prompting self-sacrifice, and makes it easy, and, indeed, pleasurable, to surrender to others a large part of the products of labor. But such surrender made to those within the family group is at variance with a like surrender made to those outside the family group. Hence the equalization of means prescribed by ommunistic arrangement, implies a moral nature such that the superior willingly stints his own progeny to aid the progeny of the inferior. He not only loves his neighbor as himself, but he loves his neighbor's children as his own. The parental instinct disappears. One child is to him as good as another. It is recognized, indeed, by Mr. Spencer that the advanced socialist otherwise communist, has proposed what is imagined to be a solution of this difficulty. Parental relations are to be superseded, and children are to be taken care of by the State method of nature is to be replaced by a better method. From the lowest forms of life to the highest, nature's method has been that of devolving the care of the young on the adults who produce them: a care, at first shown feebly and unobtrusively, but becoming gradually more pronounced, until, as we approach the highest type of creature, the lives of parents, prompted by feelings increasingly intense, are more and more devoted to the rearing of offspring. But, just as socialists would suspend the natural relation between effort and benefit, so would they suspend the natural relation between the instinctive actions of parents and the welfare of progeny. The two great laws, in the absence of either of which organic evolution would have been impossible, are both to be repealed.

IV. When, from considering the ideal human nature required for the harmonious working of institutions partially or completely communis tic, an ideal nature to which is ascribed mutually exclusive traits, Mr. Spencer passes to the consideration of the real human nature exhibited around us, the irrationality of socialistic hopes becomes to him still more conspicuous. He bids us observe what is actually done by these men who are expected to be so regardful of one another's interests. He begins with England, and reminds us that if, in our day, the name "birds of prey and of passage," which Burke gave to the English in India at the time of the trial of Warren Hastings, is not as applicable now as it was then, yet the policy of unscrupulous aggrandizement continues. Anglo-Indian officer is quoted to the effect that all England's conquests and annexations are made from base and selfish motives alone. Another officer, a major in the Bombay army, conand harmoniously in the proposed way, is not | demns "the rage shown of late years for seizing what does not and never did belong to us, because the people happen to be weak and very poorly armed, while we are strong and provided with the most excellent weapons." Resistance to an intruding sportsman or a bullying exfusal to furnish transport-coolies, serves incessantly as a sufficient excuse for attack, cor quest, and annexation. Mr. Spencer declares that everywhere the usual succession of things runs thus: Missionaries, envoys to native rulers, concessions made by them, quarrels with them, invasions of them, appropriations of their territory. First, men are sent from England to teach the heathers Christianity, and then Cristians are sent to mow them down with machine guns. So-called savages who, according to numerous travellers, behave well until they are ill-treated, are taught good conduct by the so-called civilized, who presently subjugate them; who inculcate rectitude, and then illustrate it by taking their land. The policy is simple and uniform; Bibles first, bombshells afterward. Such being the doings of Englishmen abroad, what are the feelings of Englishmen at home? Honors, titles, emoluments are showered on the aggressors. Evidently, Mr. Spencer has Stanley and Dr. Jameson in mind when he calls to mind that a traveller who makes light of men's lives is regarded as a hero and fêted by the upper classe-, while the lower classes give an ovation to a leader of fillbusters, "British power," "British pluck," "British interests," are words on every tongue; but of justice there is no speech, no thought. Behold, then, the marvellous incongruity. Out of men who do these things, and men who applaud them, is to be formed, say the Socialists, a society pervaded

> that by administrative cunning may be organ-ized a community in which self-seeking will abdicate, and fellow-feeling reign in its place. Passing over similar doings of other superior peoples who present themselves to inferior peo-ples as models to be imitated, Mr. Spencer, instead of further contemplating external conduct, turns to contemplate internal conduct. We Americans, in particular, are reminded that, in our country, we have witnessed local civil wars, carried on by artisans, miners, or rallway operatives, who will not let others work at lower wages than they themselves de mand; they wreck and burn property, waylay and shoot antagonists, attempt to poleon wholesale those who dissent. The fact certified by Judge Parker is mentioned that, in certain parts of the country, there are lynchings at the rate of three per day; in the far West "shooting at sight" is practised; the daily average of homicides throughout the United States has risen in five years from twelve per day to thirty per day. Again, we have the corruption sporadically evinced by the police in municipalities; the prevalence of bribery to purchase immunity or to buy off punishment. Add to this the general admiration for the unscrupulous man of business, applauded as "smart," as a man who gets there." How then, asks Mr. Spencer, can it be hoped that a nation in which self-regard leads to these startling results may forthwith be changed into a nation in which regard for others is supreme?

by the sentiment of brotherhood. It is hoped

No less marvellous is the incongruity between anticipations and probabilities in the land preeminently socialistic, Germany. There students gash one another's faces in sword fights, thereby gaining their Emperor's approval Ducling, legally a crime, and opposed in the extremest degree to the current creed, is insisted on by military rule; so that an officer who declines to fight a duel is expelled from the army; nay, worse, one who in a court of justice is proved to have been fa sely accused, is bound to challenge those who accuse him. Yet, in a country where the spirit of revenge is suprem The part of this volume which is new, and in demns it also on the ground that it implies | ever religion, law, and equity, it is expected not

only that men will at once cease to sacrifice others in satisfaction of their "boner," but will at once be ready to sacrifice their own interests to further the interests of their fellows. So, too, in France, if the sentiment of private revenge, though dominant, is shown in ways less extreme, the sentiment of national revenge is a political passion. Enormous military burdens are borne in the hope of wiping out "dishonor", in blood. Meanwhile the republic has brought little purification of the empire. Within a short time we have seen official corruption displayed in the selling of decorations; we have seen the Panama scandal, implicating various political personages; men of means pushing their projects at the cost of thousands tmpoverished or ruined; and more recently still, have come the blackmailing revelations, the persecuting of people even to the death to obtain money by threatened disclosures or false charges. Nevertheless, while among the select men chosen by the nation to rule, there is so much delinquency, and while the specially cultured who conduct the public journals act in these flagitious ways, it is assumed by the Social stathat the nation, as a whole, will by reorganization be immediately changed in character and a malificent selfishness will be transformed into a beneficent unselfishness. It would not, in Mr. Spencer's opinion, be altogether irrational to expect that some of the peaceful Indian nill tribes who display the virtue of forgiveness without professing it, or those Papuan Islanders, among whom the man chosen as chief uses his property to help poorer men out of their difficulties, might live harmoniously under socialistic arrangements; but how, he asks, can we reasonably expect this of men who, pretend ing to believe that they should love their neighbors as themselves, here rob their fellows and there shoot them, while hoping to slay whole-

sale men of other blood?

So much for the biological and psychological aspects of socialism as they are considered in the book before us. Reduced, however, to its ultimate form, the general question at issue between Socialists and anti-Socialists has to do with the mode of regulating labor. Preceding chapters of this volume have dealt with this question historically, treating of regulation hat is paternal, patriarchal, communal, or by a guild, or of regulation that has the form of slavery or serfdom, or of regulation under arangements partially free or wholly free. These chapters bring out in detail the truth that political, ecclesiastical, and industrial regulations simultaneously decrease in coerciveness, as men ascend from lower to higher types of society; the nodern industrial system being one under which coerciveness approaches a minimum. At present, indeed, the worker is often mercileasly coerced by circumstances, and has nothing be ore him but hard terms, yet he is not coerced by a master into acceptance of these terms While, however, the evils which resulted from the old mode of regulating labor, not being experienced by present or recent generations, have been forgotten, the evils accompanying the new mode are keenly felt, and have aroused the desire for a different mode which is, in reality, a modified form of the old mode. If the Socialists shall have their way, there is to be a reinstitution of status, not under individual masters, but unde the community as master. No longer possessing themselves and making the best of their pow ers, individuals are to be possessed by the State. which, while it supports them, is to direct their labora. Necessarily, there is implied in such direction of labor a wast and elaborate adminstrative body comprehending regulators of groups, subject to higher regulators, and so on through successively superior grades up to a central authority which coordinates the multitudinous activities of the society in their kinds and amounts. Of course, the members of this directive organizalon must be adequately paid by the workers; and the tacit assumption is that the required payment will be, at first and always, much less than that which is taken by the members of the frective organization now existing, to wit, employers and their staff; while submission to the orders of these State officials will be more

olerable than submission to the orders of those who pay wages for work. Is this assumption well founded? Before answering this question, Mr. Spencer invites us to observe that a complete parallelism exists between such a social structure and the atructure of an army. The former is simply a civil regimentation parallel to the military regiments. ton; and it establishes an industrial subordination parallel to the military subordina ion. In either case, the rule is: Do your task and take your rations. In the working organ! zation, as in the fighting organization, obedience is requisite for maintenance of order, as well as for efficiency, and must be enforced with whatever rigor is found needful, Doubtless in the one case as in the other, multitudinous officers, grade over grade, having in their hands all authority and all means of coercion, would be able to curb the aggressive egoism which causes the failures of mall socialistic bodies. Idleness, carelesaness, quarrels, violence, would be prevented, and efficient work insisted upon. But when, from regulation of the workers by the bureaucracy. one turns to the bureaucracy itself, and asks how it is to be regulated, no such satisfactory answer is given by the Socialists. Owning, it trust for the community, all the land, the capital, the means of transit and communication, as well as whatever police and military force have to be maintained, this all-powerful official organization, composed of men characterized on the average by an aggressive egoism like that which the workers now display in socialistic groups, but not, like them, under any higher control, must inevitably advantage itself at the cost of the governed; he elective powers of the governed having failed to prevent it, since, as is perpetually hown, a large unorganized body cannot cope with a small organized one. Under such conditions there would be an increasing deduction from the aggregate produce by these ruling classes, a widening separation of them from the ruled and a growing assumption of superior rank. There must needs arise a new aristocracy, for the support of which the masses will toll, and which, being consolidated, would wield a power far beyond that of any past aristocracy. Mr. Spencer suggests that we should mark the doings of the recent Trade Union Congress (September, 1896), whence delegates from societies that had tolerated non-unionists were expelled, whence reporters of papers having employees not belonging to printers' unions were obliged to withdraw, and where wholesale nationalization of property (which necessarily implies confiscation) was approved by four to one; and then, what acroples would restrain bureauoracy pervaded by this temper?

While these are Mr. Spencer's convictions, he sees plainly enough that nothing will make Socialists accept them. They refuse to recognize as possible such results as are here foreshadowed. Just as the zealous adherent of a religious creed, met by some fatal objection, feels certain that, though he does not see the answer, yet a good answer is to be found; or just as the lover to whom defects in his mistress are pointed out, cannot be made calmly to onsider what will result from them in married life; so the Socialist, in love with his scheme, will not entertain adverse criticisms, or gives no weight to them if he does. He will continue to hope that selfish men may be so manipulated that they will behave unselfishly; that the effects of goodness may be had without the goodness. He has unwavering faith in a social alchemy which, out of ignoble natures, begets noble actions.

VI.

In a chapter on the "Near Future," Mr. Herbert Spencer reviews the amazing advances made during the last quarter of a century on the Continent, and in England as well, in milltarism and in the corresponding disposition of the Government to interpose more and more in the details of civil and industrial life. For instance, Gering already, before 1870, had a history system, has since to be according and a proving it. All physical at men between certain and ble soldiers as ar in preparation in actual serves. or in reward. This ownership of subjects by the Biate and ands even to those who are born abroad | More and

For the support of its vast armament, those engaged in civil life are more and more taxed; which means that, to the extent of those parts of their earnings taken by the State, they also are owned by the State, their powers being used for its purposes and not for their own. The continually increasing approach to an entirely militant type of structure is shown in the growing autocratic power of the soldier-emperor, who is swayed by the absolutely pagan thought of responsibility to ancestors in heaven. More-over, the German citizen does not fully own himself while carrying on his civil life outdoor and indoor. The control of his industrial activity is much like that of medisval days. The old system of bounties is enforced, and along with this goes, in the case of sugar, a tax on internal consumption, as well as a prescribed limit to the amount produced. Cited, also, by Mr. Spencer is the recent restraining of Stock Exchange transactions and the interdicting of time dealing in grain, A more widespread coercion is seen in the Old Age pension system. Then, again, there is the recent Government measure for establishing compulsory guilds of artisans, a manifest reversion to mediaval usages. These and many other regulations, alike of employers and employed, make them in so far creatures of the State, not having the unrestrained use of their own faculties. Even when at home it is the same. The policeman is always at one's albow, half schoolmaster, half nurse; supervises one's every action from the cradle to the grave with a mili-tary sternness and inflexibility which robs one of al. independence and reduces one to the level of a mere plastic item. Prince Bismarck declared in 1893 that his fear and anxlety for the future was that the national consciousness of his countrymen might be stifled in the coils of the box constrictor of the bureaucracy, which had made rapid progress during the previous few years. The stifling of the national consciousness is noted by Mr. Eubule Evans, in a recent account of the changes that have taken place in German life since 1870; referring to the feelings of Germans about bureaucratio control, he says: "Long use has made it second nature to them; they can hardly

imagine any other régime." In view of these facts, Mr. Spencer thinks it easy to see why the socialistic movement has assumed such large proportions in Germany. We can now understand why its theoretical exounders, Rodbertus, Marx, Lassalle, and its working advocates, Bebel, Liebknecht, Singer, and others, have raised its adherents into a body of great political importance. The socialistic regime which they advocate is simply another form of the bureaucratio régime. Military regimentation, civil regimentation, and industrial regimentation are, in their natures, essentially the same; the kinship between them being otherwise shown by such facts as that, while the military rulers have entertained schemes for a qualified State socialism, the ruled have advocated the "training of the nations in arms," as at the Socialistic Congress at Erfurth in 1891. When we remember, too, how lately feudalism has died out in Germany, how little Germans have been accustomed to self-ownership, and how much to ownership by others, we may understand how unobjectionable to them seems that system of ownership by others which State

been in the last fifteen years 200,000 new civil functionaries appointed. From the fact that it is the business of the French police to know the domictle and the doings of everybody may be inferred the spirit in which the French citizen is dealt with by his government. Such control inevitably ramifies; hence, regulations like that specifying the time after confinement when a oman may go out to work, or that which prevents a man from designing the façade of his couse as he pleases. The rage for uniformity illustrated by the Minister, who boasted that, t a given hour, all the boys in France were saying the same lesson, is regarded by Mr. Spencer as an outcome of a nature which values equality much more than liberty. There is, he thinks, smail objection to coercion if all are equally coerced; hence, in France the tendency to regimentation reappears in one or another form continually. Mr. Spencer recalls the fact that, in the days of the revolution the mania for regulation ran into such minute details that at a certain appointed fôte all mothers, at a specified moment. vere directed to regard their children with tender eyes. Inevitably, a national character, in which the sentiment of self-ownership offers in which the sentiment of self-ownership offers little resistance to ownership by others, puts little check on the growth of public instrumentalities, be they for external conflicts or internal administration. The result is that, whereas the total public expenditure just before the Franco-German war was about \$445,000,000 at year, it is now about \$355,000,000. M. Yeas Guyot has computed that the civil and military expenditures now about the tierty per cent, of the annual exchangeable produce of France, Formerly the Frenchman did corvées for his feudal lord, working on his estate during so many days of the year; now, during overninety days in the year, the Frenchman does corvées for his Government. To that extent he is a serf of the community, for it matters not whether he does so much work or whether he gives an equivalent in motey. Hence we see why in France, as in Germany, a scheme of social reorganization under which each citizen, while maintained by the community, is to later for the community, has obtained so many adherents as to create a formidable political body. Habituated to subordination, both as solider and as civilian, the Frenchman has an adapted nature. Inheriting military traditions, in which he giories, and subject, at school, to a discipline of military structness, he, without repusance, accepts the idea of industrial regimentation, and does not resont the singestion that, for the sake of being taxen care of, he should put himself under a universal directive organization, indeed, he has, in large mean are, once this already. Though his political tender eyes. Inevitably, a national character, in which the sentiment of self-ownership offers directive organization. Indeed, he has, in large measure, once this already. Though his politi-cal institutions appear to give him freedom, yet he submits to control to a way astomshing t those who better understand what freedom is.

VIII.

In England, where, historically, the extent of ownership by others has been less than in France and in Germany, there has been less progress in sentiment and idea toward that form of ownership by others which socialism implies. Nevertheless, even in England, the recent increase of armament and of aggressive activities has brought changes in the direction of the militant social type, which changes have developed others in the civil organization, and have conduced to the spread of socialistic theories. From flaures supplied to Mr. Spencer by high efficials, it appears that, in 1840 (a propertionate estimate of the militis being made, the land forces of English blood at ioning and obter requirements, which is impulled and abread numbered about 250,000, and the sea forces about 42,000; and the sea forces about 42,000; and the respective numbers are 714,000 and ba,000. Broadly speaking, in the course of fifty years the strongth of the navy has been more than debied and that of the army nearly trebied. Bleatwhise, the total atmust expenditure for armanents and defences has risen to over \$17,000,000. Meauwhile, too, with growth of armaments has sone growth of a greenly energy for the solution of the second unit and yet is only enabled so to full his own nature by all others doing the like." by high efficials, it appears that, in 1846 (a

are selzed on one or another pretext; so that whereas about 1830 England had forty-eight territoriac, colonies, protectorates, settlements, she has now (each extension being counted as another possession) as many as saventy-seven. Along with increase in the direct State ownership of the individual which is implied by me of him as a soldier, has gone an increase in the indirect State ownership which is implied by multiplication of dictations and restraints, and by growth of general and local taxation. Typical of the civil régime which has been spreading in Engiand since the middle of the century, is the system of education by nublic agency, to support which, partly through general and seal taxation. Typical of the engine of the middle of the century, is the system of education by nublic agency, to support which, partly through general taxes and partly through local rates, certain earnings of clingens are appropriated. Not the parent but increased of the English child, ordering the course of its life and deciding on the things that must be taught: the parent who disregards or disputes the nation's ownership is punished. In a kindred sprit, control has been extended over the parent himself in the carrying on of his life and the uso of his property. In 1884 Mr. Spence named dry-nine acts further regulating the conduct, of citizens which has been passed. An ensemble of the conduct, of citizens which has been passed and the uso of his property. In 1884 Mr. Spence named dry-nine acts further regulation up to 1894 inclusive shows that forty-three more interfering acts have been passed. An enormous draught on men's resources has accompanied this growth of restrictions and administrations. An authoritative table shows that in the twenty-four years ending in 1891-3, the aggregate of local expenditures bad considerably more than doubled, and the aggregate of local expenditures bad considerably more than doubled, and the aggregate of local expenditures bad considerably more than doubled, and the aggregate of local expenditu are selzed on one or another pretext; so that whereas about 1850 England had forty-eight

by others replaces it.

IX.

Thus we see that, alike in England and elsewhere, throughout institutions, activities sentiments, and ideas there is the same tendencys and this tendency becomes daily more pronounced. In the minds of the masses seeking for more benefits by law, and in the minds of legislators trying to fulfil the expectations they have raised, is everywhere discernible a progressive merging of the life of the unit in the life of the aggregate. To vary Tennyson's linest "The individual withers and the State is more in the same to ownership by others, we may unjerstand how unobjectionable to them seems that system of ownership by others which State socialism implies.

WIL

Although the modern history of France has been very different from that of Germany, yet the same tendency toward the effacement of the individual is observable in both countries. The body politic in either case expends most of its energies in growth of teeth and claws, every increase on the one side prompting an increase on the other. In france, to prepare for revenge, conscription takes a greatly augmented part of the available manhood, including even the young men who are presently to teach the religion of forgiveness, so that the effective strength of the army and navy has grown from 470,000 in 1889 to 606,000 for the forth-coming year; leaving out of the comparison, as being producers, the reserves, which raise the present fighting force to over 2,000,000. To support the non-productive class owned by the State as fighters, the State makes the workers surrenders proportionate part of their earnings and owns them to the extent of that part, Milliant activity and milliant sentiment accompany this milliant organization. A remarkable change in the civil structure corresponds to this milliant organization. A remarkable change in the civil structure corresponds to this milliant organization. A remarkable change in the civil structure corresponds to this milliant organization. A remarkable change in the civil structures corresponds to this milliant organization. A remarkable change in the civil structures corresponds to this milliant eventual proportionate part of their earnings and owns them to the extent of that part, Milliant activity and milliant sentiment accompany this milliant organization. A remarkable change in the civil structure corresponds to this milliant organization. A remarkable change in the civil structure corresponds to this milliant organization, and correct of inclination of the reference of inclination of the reference of inclination of and more." Mr. Spencer is unable to resist the conclusion that the various conspiring same race or of other races. As is shown in multitudinous ways throughout the work before us, a society organized for coercive action against other societies must subject its member also to coercion. In proportion as men's claims are trampled upon by it externally, will men's claims be trampled upon by it internally. History has familiarized the truth that tyrant and slave are men of the same kind, differently placed. Be it in the same in Expytian king, subject to a rigid routine of daily life enforced by priests; be it in the Roman patriclan, master of bondmen, and himself in bondays to the State; be it in the feudai lord possessing his serf, and himself possessed by his suzerain; be it in the motorn artisan yielding up to his "union" his right to make contracts and malitreating his fellow who will not thus yield, we equally see that those who disregard others' individualities must, in one way or another, sacrifice their own. Men thus constituted cannot maintain free institutions. They must live under some system of carcive government; and, when old forms of it loss their strength, must generate new forms. How long the phase of social life to which, in Mr. Spencer's deliberate and final judgment, we are now approaching will last, and in what way it will come to an end, are, of course, questions not to be answered. His opinion is that the issue become intolerable may in some cases happen, and for the socialistic regime will be substituted a military despotism. In other cases practical extinction may follow a gradual decay, arising from the abolition of that normal relation between merit and benefit by which alone the vigor of a race can be maintained. In yet further cases may come conquest by peoples who have not been emasculated by rostering their feelie members; peoples lefore whom the socialistic organization will go down like a nouse of cards, as did that of the ancient Peruvia

Is, then, the outcome of the "Synthetic Philosophy," to which Mr. Spencer has devoted an extraordinary intellect and some forty years of labor, a blank and dreary pessimism? Not so; in a concluding chapter he gives his reasons for the assertion that, if we carry our thoughts as far forward as paleolithic implements carry them back, we are introduced not to an absolute optimism, but to a relative optimism. If the process of evolution, which, unceasing throughout past times, has brought life to its present height, continues throughout the future, as we cannot but anticipate, then, and all the rhythm calchanges in each society, and all the lives and deaths of nations, and all the suppliantings of race by race, there will go on that adaptation of human nature to the social state which began when savages first gathered together lists bordes for mutual defence; an adaptation finally complete. There are, Mr. Spencer says, a few, and he is one of them, who think it rational 22 road-clude that what has happened with all lows. he is one of them, who think it rational it goal choice that what has happened with all low-torms must happen with the highest form; a few who infer that among types of men those most fitted for making a well-working society will hereafter, as herelofore, from time to time emerge and stread at the expense of types less fitted, until a fully fitted type has arised. What holds with organic types must hold also with types of society. As, when small types were welded into great tribes, the head chief stopped intertribul warfare, as, when small founds governments became subject to a stopped intertribal wastare; as, feurial governments became a king, feutial wars were present so, it time to come, a festeration of nations exercising supreme authorized and own of the powers. It may by forbidd twent any of its congettent nation to the relaxification, which is undoing civilization. When the states feetation has been feetation between the context of the constant page 100 per property of the context of the c to the federaticization which undoing eightigation. When it taining federation has been may, in Mr. Spencer's ordining progress toward that equilibrius structure and conditions, between the control of the stage of human exacults have not caused the artitute Philosophy, to respect the control of the contro